

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 ISLAMA 10248 301248Z

42

ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-08 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-01

INR-05 L-01 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02

SS-15 USIA-06 NIC-01 ACDA-05 OMB-01 AID-05 EA-06 EB-04

TRSE-00 IO-04 AF-04 XMB-02 COME-00 INT-05 STR-01 /098 W

----- 036562

O P 301106Z OCT 74 ZFF-4

FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

TO AMEMBASSY DACCA IMMEDIATE

SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7378

INFO AMEMBASSY KABUL

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

C O N F I D E N T I A L ISLAMABAD 10248

DACCA FOR THE SECRETARY'S PARTY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PK, UR

SUBJECT: BHUTTO'S VISIT TO MOSCOW

REFS: A) ISLAMABAD 9982, B) ISLAMABAD 10211, C) ISLAMABAD 10217

(NOTAL)

SUMMARY: BHUTTO'S TWICE-POSTPONED VISIT APPEARS TO HAVE GONE OFF WELL FROM THE GOPPOINT OF VIEW AND SEEMS TO HAVE FULFILLED THE LIMITED EXPECTATIONS WITH WHICH THE PAKS APPROACHED IT. THEY PAKS SEEM TO HAVE BEEN SUCCESSFUL IN BRINGING THE SOVIETS TO A MORE SYMPATHETIC UNDERSTANDING OF THEIR POSITIONS ON CONTROVERSIAL REGIONAL PROBLEMS, AND THEY HAVE EVIDENTLY COME AWAY WITH THE IMPRESSION THAT THE SOVS HAD ADOPTED A MORE EVEN-HANDED APPROACH TO THESE MATTERS, NOTABLY ON PAK-AFGHAN AND PAK-BANGLADESH RELATIONS. THEY WERE RELIEVED THAT THE SOVS DID NOT PRESS THEM ON THEIR ASIAN

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 ISLAMA 10248 301248Z

COLLECTIVE SECURITY SCHEME. THEY ALSO APPEAR TO HAVE THE

CONVICTION AS A RESULT OF THE TALKS THAT THE SOVS ARE MORE PREPARED THAN THEY HAD BEEN EARLIER TO ACCEPT PAKISTAN AS AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN THE STABLE AND PEACEFUL SOUTH ASIA THEY NOW SEEM PERSUADED THE USSR SEEKS. THEY WENT OUT OF THEIR WAY TO TELL THE SOVS THAT BETTER PAK-USSR TIES CANNOT BE AT THE EXPENSE OF THEIR GOOD RELATIONS WITH PEKING AND WASHINGTON. PAKS APPEAR TO HAVE ACHIEVED THEIR OBJECTIVES ON THE ECONOMIC SIDE. END SUMMARY.

1. AS WE MENTIONED IN OUR MESSAGE (REF. A), ON THE EVE OF PRIME MINISTER' BHUTTO'S VISIT TO THE SOVIET UNION, THE GOP'S GOALS IN MOSCOW WERE LIMITED. THEY HOPED TO BRING THE SOVIETS TO A MORE SYMPATHETIC UNDERSTANDING OF THEIR POSITION ON CONTROVERSIAL REGIONAL PROBLEMS AND TO PERSUADE THE SOVS TO ADOPT A MORE EVEN-HANDED APPROACH IN THE AREA. BUT THEY DID NOT ANTICIPATE THAT THE MOSCOW MEETINGS WOULD LEAD TO ANY FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE IN THE ORIENTATION OF SOVIET SOUTH ASIAN POLICY, NOR DID THEY GO TO MOSCOW PREPARED TO MAKE ANY BASIC REORIENTATION IN THEIR OWN APPROACH TO THE GREAT POWERS. ON THE ECONOMIC SIDE, THEY HOPED TO WORK OUT PROBLEMS THAT HAD ARISEN, BROADEN TRADE TIES, AND OBTAIN GREATER SOV ASSISTANCE FOR PAK ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

2. WITHIN THESE LIMITS, THE VISIT APPEARS TO HAVE GONE OFF WELL FROM THE PAK POINT OF VIEW. THEY SEEM TO HAVE BEEN PARTICULARLY SUCCESSFUL IN BRINGING THE SOVIETS TO A MORE ACCEPTABLE (TO THEM) POSITION ON PAK-AFGHAN AND PAK-BANGLADESH RELATIONS, TWO ISSUES ON WHICH THEY HAD FELT THE SOVS HAD EARLIER BROUGHT UNFRIENDLY PRESSURRSTO BEAR. ALTHOUGH THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE ISSUED FOLLOWING THE VISIT SPOKE OF THE HOPE THAT "THE DIFFERENCES (NOT POLITICAL DISPUTES AS THE SOVS HAD INITIALLY CALLED FOR) BETWEEN PAKISTAN AND AFGHANISTAN WILL BE SETTLED BY PEACEFUL MEANS THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS", UP TILL NOW A DIRTY WORD IN THIS CONTEXT TO THE GOP, WHICH HAS FEARED THAT IT COULD IMPLY NON-RECOGNITION OF THE PRESENT INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARY, THE PAKS HAVE TAKEN CONSIDERABLE SATISFACTION OVER THEIR SUCCESS IN GETTING THE SOVS TO MODIFY IT WITH THE PHRASE "ON THE BASIS OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE." THE PAKS MAINTAIN, WITH CONSIDERABLE CONVICTION, THAT THIS IS SHORTHAND FOR "EQUALITY, CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 ISLAMA 10248 301248Z

MUTUAL RESPECT, SOVEREIGNTY AND NON-INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS", AND DAWN'S EDITORIAL YESTERDAY MENTIONS THAT KOSYGIN "TOOK CARE TO ENUNCIATE THIS." ALTHOUGH BANGLADESH, UNLIKE AFGHANISTAN (AND INDIA), DOES NOT GET A MENTION IN THE COMMUNIQUE, FOREIGN SECRETARY AGHA SHAHI COMMENTED TO THE AMBASSADOR THAT THE PAKS WERE TOLD BY THE SOVS THAT BD PRIME MINISTER MUJIB WAS WILLING TO COMPROMISE ON HIS

EXTREME POSITIONS ON THE KNOTTY ASSET/LIABILITY AND BIHARI REPATRIATION ISSUES.

3. THE PAKS ARE ALSO PLEASED THAT THE SOVS, TO THEIR SURPRISE, DID NOT PRESSURE THEM ON THE ASIAN SECURITY SYSTEM. THIS HAS BEEN A PARTICULAR CONCERN FOR THE GOP. THE OFFICIAL PAK POSITION LINE, AS WRITTEN UP BY THE DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENT OF THE PAKISTAN TIMES WHO ACCOMPANIED THE PRIME MINISTER, IS THAT THE PAKS TOOK THE POSITION THAT THERE WERE STILL MANY OUTSTANDING TERRITORIAL AND OTHER DISPUTES AMONG THE COUNTRIES OF ASIA, AND THAT UNTIL THESE DISPUTES WERE RESOLVED THE IDEA OF A COLLECTIVE SECURITY SYSTEM WOULD REMAIN UNREALISTIC AND IMPRACTICAL. THE PRIME MINISTER LATER TOLD THE AMBASSADOR THAT HE HAD TOLD THE SOVS HE COULD SUBSCRIBE TO ANY PRINCIPLES ACCEPTABLE IN INTERNATIONAL LAW, THE WORLDWIDE SECURITY PROVISIONS OF THE UN CHARTER, ETC., BUT WAS NOT PREPARED TO OFFER ANYTHING MORE SPECIFIC. HE SAID THE SOVS HAD LET THE MATTER DROP GRACEFULLY.

4. THE PAKS SEEM TO HAVE COME OUT AS WELL AS THEY COULD HAVE EXPECTED IN THE DISCUSSIONS OF INDO-PAK RELATIONS. IN THE COMMUNIQUE, THE TWO SIDES NOTE "WITH PROFOUND SATISFACTION THE PROGRESSIVE NORMALIZATION OF THE SITUATION IN THE SOUTH ASIAN SUBCONTINENT ON THE BASIS OF THE SIMLA AGREEMENT" AND SUBSEQUENT ACCORDS, AND EXPRESS THE HOPE THAT ALL OUTSTANDING DIFFERENCES WILL BE SETTLED ON THE SAME BASIS. THE PAKS ARE INTERPRETING THIS FOR DOMESTIC CONSUMPTION AS INDICATIVE OF SOVIET RECOGNITION OF THE UNSETTLED NATURE OF THE KASHMIR DISPUTE, BUT THEY ARE UNDER NO ILLUSIONS THAT THE MOSCOW TALKS HAVE LED THE SOVS TO LOOSEN THEIR CLOSE TIES WITH NEW DELHI. THEY DO SEEM TO HAVE COME AWAY FROM MOSCOW WITH THE CONVICTION THAT THE

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 ISLAMA 10248 301248Z

SOVS ARE MORE PREPARED THAN THEY HAD BEEN EARLIER TO ACCEPT PAKISTAN AS AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN THE STABLE AND PEACEFUL SOUTH ASIA THEY NOW APPEAR PERSUADED THE USSR SEEKS.

5. IN THE DISCUSSIONS, THE PAKS WERE AT PAINS TO POINT OUT THAT THE IMPROVEMENT THEY SOUGHT IN THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION COULD NOT BE EFFECTED AT THE EXPENSE OF THEIR TIES WITH THE PRC AND THE US. BHUTTO REITERATED THIS IN REMARKS TO NEWSMEN ON HIS RETURN TO ISLAMABD, REPORTEDLY STATING THAT HE HAD TOLD THE SOVS IN UNAMBIGUOUS TERMS THAT PAKISTAN'S FOREIGN POLICY WAS NOT MOMENTARY OR BASED ON EXPEDIENCY, AND THAT THERE COULD BE NO CHANGE IN PAKISTAN'S CONTINUING GOOD RELATIONS WITH PEKING AND WASHINGTON. ASKED BY NEWSMEN IF THE TALKS WILL MEAN ANY CHANGE IN PAKISTAN'S FOREIGN POLICY, HE REPORTEDLY REPLIED THAT

HE HAD BEEN ABROAD FOR ONLY TWO TO THREE DAYS AND THAT FOREIGN POLICIES OF COUNTRIES DID NOT CHANGE IN THAT SHORT A PERIOD. IT WAS A FITTING COMMENT ON A MEETING WHICH WAS POLITICALLY IMPORTANT FOR PAKISTAN BUT NEVER THOUGHT OF HERE AS AN EVENT WHICH WOULD LEAD TO A FUNDAMENTAL REORDERING OF SOUTH ASIAN-SOVIET RELATIONS.

6. AMONG THE INTERNATIONAL ISSUES DISCUSSED, THE MIDDLE EAST, SOUTHEAST ASIA, CYPRUS, EUROPEAN SECURITY AND AFRICAN ALL WERE MENTIONED IN THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE (REF. B.). THE MOST SIGNIFICANT SINGLE POINT MADE WAS IN CONNECTION WITH THE ARAB-ISRAELI DISPUTE. THE TWO SIDES CAME OUT IN FAVOR OF AN EARLY RESUMPTION OF THE GENEVA PEACE CONFERENCE AND THE PARTICIPATION IN IT ON AN EQUAL FOOTING OF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE ARAB PEOPLE OF PALESTINE. THEY AGREED THAT THE PROBLEMS OF VIET NAM, LAOS AND CAMBODIA MUST BE RESOLVED BY THE PEOPLES OF THOSE COUNTRIES WITHOUT ANY FOREIGN INTERFERENCE ON THE BASIS OF STRICT RESPECT FOR THEIR LEGITIMATE RIGHTS AND CALLED FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PARIS AGREEMENT BY ALL THE SIGNATORIES. OTHER POSITIONS WERE FOR THE MOST PART BLAND RESTATEMENTS OF LONG-STANDING APPROACHES.

7. THE PAKS APPEARED TO HAVE ACHIEVED THEIR OBJECTIVES ON THE ECONOMIC SIDE. FOR THE KARACHI STEEL MILL PROJECT, THE SOVIETS AGREED TO GIVE SUPPLEMENTARY CREDITS OF 228
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 ISLAMA 10248 301248Z

MILLION RUBLES IN ADDITION TO THE 200 MILLION RUBLE CREDIT ALREADY SANCTIONED. OF THE 228 MILLION CREDIT, SOME 191 MILLION WILL BEAR AN INTEREST OF 2 1/2 PERCENT REPAYABLE IN 15 YEARS; THE REMAINING 37 MILLION WILL BE ON SUPPLIER CREDIT TERMS. BESIDES THE NEW STEEL CREDITS, THE SOVIETS AGREED TO BUILD A HOSPITAL IN ISLAMABAD AND HAVE OFFERED TO CONTINUE TO HELP THE GOP TO PROSPECT FOR OIL. THE SOVIETS AND PAKS ARE ALSO TO SIGN A NEW TRADE AGREEMENT.
BYROADE

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN RELATIONS, HEAD OF GOVERNMENT VISITS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 30 OCT 1974
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: boyleja
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974ISLAMA10248
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D740309-0847
From: ISLAMABAD
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t1974108/aaaaafwc.tel
Line Count: 210
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION NEA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: A) ISLAMABAD 9982, B) ISLAMABAD 1021, 1, C) ISLAMABAD 10217
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: boyleja
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 01 MAY 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <01 MAY 2002 by boyleja>; APPROVED <11 MAR 2003 by boyleja>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: BHUTTO'S VISIT TO MOSCOW
TAGS: PFOR, PK, UR, (BHUTTO, ALI)
To: DACCA STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005